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Alienation in the Creation of Exchange Value

435 In the Orokaiva village, exchange value may enter in four ways:
436 through cash crops, outside gifts, labour and business. The two latter categories are recent. Whereas wages were an insignificant
[434] item in most villages during my 1966–67 study, a recent income survey (Newton 1978) in a typical village showed an overall income of about K675 per household, made up of coffee returns 35%, wages 37%, migrant gifts 12%.

[776] We have no special studies of work concepts in this sector, but some general indications. It may seem surprising that Jesus Christ was nominated as the originating deity of monetary compensation for work, but New Guineans widely regard him as originator of European wealth and therefore also, not illogically, of the concept of money and exchange value. The idea of converting labour into money, in itself, greatly interests New Guineans. Thus Daniel de Coppet shows that in the Are'are social system there is but one traditional method of converting food and services into shell money, viz by acting as an undertaker. For this reason the office of undertaker was a highly valued one. Thus Councillor Colin might well genuinely revere a deity or culture hero who instituted the full convertibility of labour into money.

461 The term *pure ari* is appropriate to describe the white man's
435 labour if for no other reason than that a 'job' just like the *pure* is a place where one spends the day. The new dispensation has, sure enough, its own conflict (*isoro*) and mode of conflict resolution.
● [694] Councillor Colin brings this out by his example of the policeman
[759] who puts village men into handcuffs and takes them off to court. In such a case it was the task of the sorcerer to ensure that the men would escape conviction and be set free again.[20] Virtue, in such a system, is largely a matter of keeping out of trouble, but also it is a matter of not squandering the money but reserving some – ideally half – of it to serve the needs of kinsmen and fellow villagers: contributions to ceremonial payments, feasts, travel expenses etc. Briefly, wages tend to be converted into political power.

435 No great value was usually attached to conversion to western
436 commodities, except where these became valued prestations. Thus, when transistor radios became valued prestations, they began to appear in large quantities in the villages and were mostly paid for by absentee workers.

[169] The subsistence/feasting duality continues in this system in that some money is needed for the former but a labourer would have little status in his home village if he did not set aside something for

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121 13. This method of setting up semiotic domains for study is probably due to Lévi-Strauss, long before it became canonized as part of the science of semiotics (Eco 1972). See also Schwimmer (1977a), for an Orokaiva example.

14. The term 'manager' instead of the tedious 'big man' is due to Burridge (1969) and is heartily recommended to practitioners.

114 15. I briefly analyzed Williams' Kutubu study (Williams 1976), but missed the full implications of the myth cycle reported by Williams. A re-reanalysis of that work, with full use of the myths, is overdue.

16. See for a first analysis Schwimmer (1973), later supplemented by Schwimmer (1974a) (coconut, areca and taro) and (1979a) (pigs).

554 17. A discussion of work specialization among Orokaiva (of which there is
577 but little) will be found in Schwimmer (1967). An interesting type of
305 specialist not so far described is the expert body decorator (Schwimmer 1973: 177, 185) to whom the ritual payment of a pig is due when he officiates, and who appears to officiate regularly at initiations.

114 18. For a full discussion of the concepts involved see Schwimmer (1979a).

19. The text: "*Umo meni ingesoa, eti atimbasoa, i umbasoa, umo timbasoa;*
773 *donda deire tapa amo aisi oa eto tunga osaga umbasoa.' Ainge ena.*
177 *Ainge ivu ta ena: 'Adam, umo ainge hogoro umbasoa, andage aisi oa*
539 *eto i gaipi oa, pure firembasi oa; iji vevere tunga osago hamo memega re tapa pure gaiha aisi oa.' Ainge ena. Ainge eto ikena avo embo Eave te Adam te ainge ena: 'Ainge dombo dago tapa endata emo ainge do aisi uje eagora: pure te deire amo tapa hamo memega te tunga osaga te tapa pamone ainge ga earora, dago embo ainge hamo memega te tunga osaga te tapa pure gaiha avo earora. Eto donda matu nunuga ena avo indie iruetera avo. Aruvorate, ungo kiaeklae eto God na taekena avo umbuto India. Aruvo embo eto avo God ena: 'Avo iji koso ami tunga osaga iji tunga osaga aisi ova, ainge tunga javatoho iji amo tunga javatoho aisi ova.' Ainge ena. Avo embo dago tapa emo oroho emite ue irora."* Robert, Sivepe, 1966.

694 20. The text: "*Embo handa pirisi embo na punduto umbuto, sokova ari ke*
754 *eto umbuto, Kokoda pambuo, koto ea, aramiko pure mo aravora.*" Councillor Colin, Tórogota, 1966. After describing a number of devices used by magicians and miracles they wrought, Colin continued: "*Avo da pirisi embo na samani eo pambuto re koto ea, amiko donda aravo porakau aravo pure puvuna.*" Translation: Police handcuffed village people and took them to Kokoda if they were believed to be telling lies. Court was held; then they would start work . . . When a summons was issued by the policeman, then those magic things would be put to work.

245 21. At the time the Waddell and Krinks study was done, only the younger men grew coffee; the authors therefore saw a correlation between age and coffee growing. During my restudy I found this correlation to be false, first because it did not apply to the clan omitted from the earlier authors' chosen sample, and secondly because the oldest men they studied began to grow coffee shortly after their departure. The substitution of German taro (*xantosoma* sp.) for classical taro (*colocasia* sp.)